

Message Text

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FOR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT AMMAN 1221 ACTION SECSTATE 06 FEB 78

QUOTE

S E C R E T AMMAN 1221

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PGOV, PBOR, JO, IS, US, XF
SUBJECT: CROWN PRINCE HASSAN--A NEW COMMONWEALTH?

SUMMARY: HASSAN HAS DEVELOPED AN APPROACH TO THE
PEACE SETTLEMENT WHICH HAS AN INTERESTING PARALLEL
WITH SOME OF THE IDEAS DEVELOPED BY THE ISRAELI LABOR
PARTY AND PARTICULARLY PERES. HE ASKED ME SPECIFICALLY
TO CALL HIS IDEAS TO YOUR ATTENTION. THE OVERALL
OBJECTIVE IS A TRI-NATIONAL (JORDAN, ISRAEL, WEST
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BANK AND GAZA) COMMONWEALTH (OR A NEW BENELUX).
HASSAN PREFERS THE FORMER TERM. THE WEST BANK WOULD
BE LINKED WITH JORDAN AND THE TWO WOULD BE ECONOMICALLY
AND THEN LATER POLITICALLY HOOKED TO ISRAEL. TRANSI-
TION WOULD TAKE PLACE IN TWO STAGES--POLITICAL TRANSI-
TION LINKING THE WEST BANK TO JORDAN BY FREE CHOICE
OF THE INHABITANTS UNDER A UN ADMINISTRATOR (A MAN
OF THE CALIBER OF WILLY BRANDT, HASSAN SUGGESTS).
SIMULTANEOUSLY, BUT TAKING A LONGER TIME WOULD BE
THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC, AND LATER POLITICAL

LINKS--A CUSTOMS UNION, FREE TRADE, DEFENSE AND SECURITY UNDERSTANDINGS, DUAL CITIZENSHIP AND SO FORTH. EXTERNAL SECURITY AGAINST ITS RADICAL ARAB NEIGHBORS WOULD BE JORDAN'S RESPONSIBILITY, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD COUNT ON AN UNWRITTEN ALLIANCE WITH THE U.S. AND PERHAPS EVENTUALLY EVEN THE EXCHANGE OF EARLY-WARNING INTELLIGENCE WITH ISRAEL. THIS IS A FAR CRY FROM THE COMMON (MIS)IMPRESSION OF HASSAN AS THE "EAST BANK ACTIVIST"; HASSAN MAKES CLEAR THAT HIS THINKING ON THIS PROCESS GOES WELL BEYOND HIS BROTHER HUSSEIN'S, BUT HE FEELS HUSSEIN CAN LATER BE BROUGHT ALONG. MUCH OF IT STEMS FROM PRINCIPLES ADVOCATED IN AN AS-OF-YET UNPUBLISHED AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF HASSAN'S GRANDFATHER, KING ABDULLAH. ITS WEAK POINTS ARE ITS TREATMENT OF THE PALESTINIANS AND THE PROCESS OF SELF-DETERMINATION ABOUT WHICH HASSAN HAS ONLY BEGUN TO PONDER IN DETAIL. THE IDEAS ARE WORTH PERUSAL IN SPITE OF THEIR INCOMPLETENESS AND (FOR THE ARAB WORLD) ADVENTURESOME QUALITY. END SUMMARY.

1. SINCE HIS RETURN LAST WEEK FROM WASHINGTON, I HAVE SPENT SEVERAL HOURS WITH HASSAN DISCUSSING SOME IDEAS ON THE FUTURE OF THE AREA WHICH HE HAS BEEN DEVELOPING
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OVER THE RECENT MONTHS. INCIDENTALLY, HASSAN TELLS ME THAT HE FOUND WASHINGTON AS DISAPPOINTINGLY ENIGMATIC, ELLIPTICAL AND UNFOCUSED AS WASHINGTON, I KNOW, TRADITIONALLY FINDS HIM. I WAS ALSO QUITE SURPRISED WHEN HE GOT BACK, TO OBSERVE HIM BOTH IN AND OUT OF HUSSEIN'S HEARING, BEGINNING TO ARTICULATE SOME VERY DIFFERENT AND NEW IDEAS OF HIS OWN ON THE LONG-RANGE FUTURE OF THE AREA.

2. CONCEPT: KEY TO HIS THINKING IS THE IDEA THAT JORDAN, THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, AND ISRAEL FORM A KIND OF NATURAL UNIT WHICH, GIVEN TIME AND THE RIGHT SORT OF TREATMENT, COULD GROW TOGETHER. ONE THOUGHT WOULD BE THE EVENTUAL FORMATION OF A KIND OF BENELUX IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HASSAN PREFERS TO CALL HIS IDEA A COMMONWEALTH WITH THE ACCENT ON THE "WEALTH" AS SYMBOLIZING THE ECONOMIC BASIS FOR THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE THREE STATES OR AREAS WITHIN THE ONE ECONOMY. HASSAN SAYS HE SEES SOME PARALLELS WITH PUERTO RICO IN THIS REGARD. A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD IS PART OF THE ARRANGEMENT.

3. THE FIRST STAGE: HASSAN SEES A NEED TO DEVELOP OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS OR MORE THE FIRST STAGE OF HIS PROPOSAL. THIS BEGINS WITH THE SETTING UP OF A UN REGIME (TRANSITIONAL AUTHORITY) ON THE WEST BANK WHICH WOULD BE VESTED WITH SOVEREIGNTY, ALTHOUGH

ISRAELI FORCES MIGHT REMAIN ON A TO-BE-PHASED-OUT BASIS IN SPECIFIC CANTONMENTS IF SUCH WERE REQUIRED, AND THEN BY GRADUALLY WITHDRAWN OVER THE PERIOD. KEY TO THIS STAGE IS THE USE OF AN ADMINISTRATOR OF GREAT EXPERIENCE AND INTELLIGENCE--HASSAN MENTIONS WILLY BRANDT OR LEE KUAN YEW AS THE SORT OF MAN HE IS THINKING OF. THE PURPOSE WOULD BE TO REVITALIZE THE WEST BANK'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS OWN AFFAIRS IN ORDER TO ALLOW FOR A FREE DECISION AT THE END OF THE TIME OF TRANSITION BY THE
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PEOPLE ON THEIR FUTURE. IF NOT BULLIED AND IF GIVEN TIME TO DEVELOP REASONABLE SECURITY, HASSAN IS CONVINCED THOSE PALESTINIANS WILL CHOOSE LINKS WITH JORDAN AND PROCEED TO DEVELOP THE IDEA OF THE COMMONWEALTH. CRUCIAL FOR HASSAN IS THE IDEA OF KEEPING BOTH ISRAELI AND JORDANIAN MILITARY PRESENCE AS MUCH OUT OF THE PICTURE AS POSSIBLE, AND IF POSSIBLE COMPLETELY OUT. HE SAYS THAT THE PRESENCE OF JORDANIAN TROOPS ON THE WEST BANK WILL ONLY ENGENDER ALL THE OLD HATREDS. ONLY PEOPLE OF WEST BANK ORIGIN WOULD GO BACK TO THE WEST BANK. THE REST OF THE PALESTINIANS COULD BE OFFERED A VERY LIMITED CHOICE TO RETURN TO ISRAEL, OR ACCEPT COMPENSATION. EAST BANK JORDAN COULD TAKE SOME MORE PALESTINIANS FROM LEBANON AND SYRIA, BUT HASSAN WAS NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THIS IDEA WHEN I RAISED IT WITH HIM, ALTHOUGH HE TALKED EVENTUALLY ABOUT POSSIBLY ADDING ANOTHER 400,000 PEOPLE, OVER A NUMBER OF YEARS, IN THE EAST BANK. HOPEFULLY, THE WEST BANKERS AND GAZANS COULD BE GIVEN A FLAG AND PASSPORTS AS THEIR NEW ENTITY EMERGED. HASSAN IN TERMS OF TOTAL TIME, IS THINKING OF FIVE YEARS FOR PHASE ONE AND UP TO TEN OR MORE TOTAL FOR BOTH PHASES ONE AND TWO.

4. INTERNAL SECURITY: HE BELIEVES THAT PALESTINIANS CAN, WITH HELP FROM PALESTINIANS NOW IN THE EAST BANK, CARRY OUT THEIR OWN SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS. JORDANIAN AND ISRAELI-SECURITY INTELLIGENCE CAN BE FED IN THROUGH TRUSTWORTHY OFFICIALS. INITIALLY THE UN MIGHT HAVE TO TAKE ON A POLICE ROLE UNTIL THE WEST BANKERS CAN HANDLE THE QUESTION. ONLY IN EXTREMIS SHOULD OR COULD ISRAELI AND JORDANIAN FORCES PARTICIPATE (I.E., WIDESPREAD, UNCONTROLLED RIOTING WHICH HE
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DOES NOT EXPECT COULD OR WOULD OCCUR). JORDANIAN TROOPS SHOULD NOT BE STATIONED IN THE WEST BANK, BUT IF NECESSARY, THEY MIGHT LATER MOVE ACROSS THE JORDAN INTO POSITION IN THE VALLEY. THE ISRAELI

TROOPS WOULD BE PHASED OUT OF THE WEST BANK AS
CONFIDENCE IN THE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS GROW.

5. EXTERNAL SECURITY: THIS WOULD EMBRACE THE ENTIRE
AREA OF THE THREE STATES OR ENTITIES. JORDAN WOULD
BE RESPONSIBLE FOR ITS NORTHERN AND EASTERN BORDERS AND
FOR THIS PURPOSE WOULD WANT A U.S. SECURITY COMMITMENT
OF THE TYPE WHICH ISRAEL HAS, BECAUSE IT WOULD SEE
GREAT DANGERS FROM SYRIA AND IRAQ. JORDAN MIGHT OVER
TIME SHAJE EARLY-WARNING INFORMATION WITH USRAEL
THROUGH AN INTERNATIONAL ARRANGEMENT OR EVEN DIRECTLY.
JORDAN WOULD DEFEND ITS EASTERN BORDERS WITH U.S.
MILITARY EQUIPMENT AID AND DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL
SUPPORT.

6. SECOND STAGE: THIS WOULD EVOLVE BOTH AS WEST
BANK DEVELOPED ECONOMICALLY (AND EAST BANK ALSO),
BUT MORE SPECIFICALLY AFTER UN REGIME ENDED AND WEST
BANK HAD (INSHALLAH) ADOPTED LINKS WITH JORDAN. ITS
FOCUS WOULD BE ON BROADENING THE ECONOMIC TIES BETWEEN
ALL PARTS OF THE EVOLVING COMMONWEALTH. WHILE OPEN
BORDERS MIGHT BE KEPT FOR LABOR MOVEMENT BETWEEN THE
WEST BANK, GAZA AND ISRAEL IN THE FIRST STEP, A
CUSTOMS UNION AND EVEN CLOSER ECONOMIC TIES (JOINT
PROJECTS, ETC.) COULD EMERGE IN THE SECOND PHASE.
EACH PART OF THE RELATIONSHIP WOULD KEEP ITS OWN
SOVEREIGNTY (ALTHOUGH THE WEST BANK MIGHT HAVE
SPECIAL POLITICAL LINKS TO JORDAN). CITIZENSHIP MIGHT
BECOME DUAL IN THE FINAL STAGES OF THE PROCESS.

7. HUSSEIN'S VIEWS: I ASKED HASSAN IF THE KING,
HIS BROTHER, ACCEPTED HIS IDEAS. HE SAID NO, HE DOES
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NOT. HUSSEIN IS STILL PREOCCUPIED WITH THE NARROWER
IDEAS OF TODAY (WITHDRAWAL, SELF-DETERMINATION, ETC.).
HASSAN DID ADD THAT HE THOUGHT HUSSEIN COULD BE BROUGHT
AROUND TO THE IDEA OVER TIME.

8. PALESTINIANS: HASSAN WAS WEAK ON THIS POINT. HE
DID NOT EXPRESS A SPECIAL NEED FOR WEST BANK NEGOTIATORS,
BUT IMPLIED IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE THEM. HE PUT
STRESS ON KEEPING THE WEST BANK FREE OF "OUTSIDE"
PALESTINIANS AND THE NEED FOR A GENUINE FREE CHOICE
BY THE WEST BANKERS WITH THE ALTERNATIVES TO INCLUDE LINKS
WITH JORDAN, A FULL INDEPENDENCE (DEMILITARIZED) OPTION AND
EVENTUAL MOVEMENT INTO THE COMMONWEALTH.

9. I ASKED ABOUT ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS. HASSAN SAID HE
COULD FORESEE KEEPING SOME OF THE RELIGIOUS SETTLE-
MENTS ON THE BASIS OF COMPLETE RECIPROCITY FROM ISRAEL
FOR A LIKE NUMBER OF ARAB VILLAGES IN THE GALILEE FOR

EXAMPLE. THE INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENTS WOULD HAVE TO GO. IN THE LONG RUN HE EVEN HINTED HE MIGHT AGREE TO ALLOW ISRAELIS TO BUY LAND AND CONDUCT BUSINESS ANYWHERE IN THE COMMONWEALTH IF TRULY EQUAL RIGHTS WERE GIVEN TO ARABS--WHICH HE BELIEVES THE ISRAELIS WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE ABLE TO DO. HE IS VERY WORRIED ABOUT HOW IMMIGRATION OF SOVIET JEWS MIGHT EFFECT THE BALANCE IN THE AREA AND SEES THE PRESENT SETTLEMENT PATTERN AS AN ISRAELI EFFORT TO ABSORB THE WEST BANK* EXPEL ITS INHABITANTS, AND TO SET UP A NEW HOME FOR THE JEWS OF THE SOVIET UNION. HASSAN BELEIVES HIS IDEAS WILL APPEAL TO THE LABOR PARTY, BUT NOT TO BEGIN AND THE LIKUD.

10. COMMENT: HASSAN IS PROBABLY AS FAR OUT ON THIS
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AS ANYONE IN THE ARAB WORLD. HE IS CLEARLY VERY UNCERTAIN ABOUT HOW SELF-DETERMINATION COULD WORK UNDER HIS OWN PROPOSALS TO ENSURE THAT THE LINKS WITH JORDAN AND EVENTUALLY THE COMMONWEALTH ACTUALLY DO EVOLVE. HE IS CERTAIN HOWEVER THAT SECURITY AND RESPONSIBLE BEHAVIOR IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA CANNOT REALLY BE ASSURED IF JORDAN AND ISRAEL PLAY AN INTRUSIVE MAJOR ROLE IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, AND SIMILARLY, CERTAIN IF ISRAEL AND JORDAN DO THIS THAT THE CHOICE OF THE INHABITANTS WILL BE PREJUDICED AGAINST THE DECISIONS WHICH ISRAEL AND JORDAN (HASSAN AT ANY RATE) WANT THE INHABITANTS EVENTUALLY TO MAKE (FOR LINKS AND A COMMONWEALTH). FINALLY, HE PUTS IMPORTANT STOCK IN THE NEED FOR AN OUTSTANDING UN ADMINISTRATOR AND A U.S. SECURITY COMMITMENT TO JORDAN SIMILAR TO WHAT THE U.S. SECURITY COMMITMENT IS AT PRESENT TO ISRAEL--NO TREATY, BUT AN OBLIGATION EVOLVED OUT OF COMMON INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES. HE BELIEVES "SOPHISTICATED DIPLOMACY" CAN HELP SOLVE THE CONTROVERSIAL PROBLEM OF EVENTUAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT CAUSING MASSIVE DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES. HASSAN IN PARTICULAR ASKED ME TO BRING THIS TO YOUR ATTENTION SINCE HE HAD ONLY TIME TO DISCUSS A FEW OF THE CONCEPTS IN HIS MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON.
END COMMENT.

11. RECOMMEND DEPARTMENT REPEAT TO TEL AVIV FOR AMBASSADOR LEWIS IN WHOSE COMMENTS AND REACTIONS I WOULD BE MOST INTERESTED.
PICKERING
UNQUOTE VANCE

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